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THE STUDENT WORLD

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Contents for July, 1926

Editorial		119
Pre-eminently a Student Problem	*Basil Mathews.*	121
Religion and Race	*Kelly Miller.*	128
"We Wonder"	*Marion V. Cuthbert.*	135
L'Attitude des Peuples Latins vis-à-vis des Races de Couleur	*Henri A. Junod.*	139
The "Clash of Colour" in the Union of South Africa	*W.S. Conradie.*	148
The Native Problem in South Africa	*Johan Reyneke.*	154
The Race Question from an Indian Point of View	*Rajani Kanta Das.*	158
A Study in Colour from the South Pacific	*A.W. McMillan.*	161
The Religious Issue in India	*William Paton.*	167

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THE STUDENT WORLD

A quarterly magazine published at 16 Boulevard des Philosophes Geneva, by the World's Student Christian Federation

JOHN R. MOTT, *Chairman*

VOLUME XIX July, 1926 NUMBER 3

Editorial

In this issue we present some aspects of the question of race relationships. The subject is so far-reaching and so difficult that it is possible only to touch upon a few of the world situations which make it the foremost question of the hour. Further, it so easily becomes a matter of mere debate and academic discussion, among observers from afar, that we welcome the articles which are written from first-hand knowledge of the problems involved. The more we understand the difficulties of the question, the more we are inclined to demand this intimate experience of all who would write upon the subject. We have assembled here a group of articles which show how the matter appears to some writers of wide and even bitter experience. In any attempt at a Christian solution, we dare not disregard the different points of view which here find expression. The pages of the *Student World* have always been an open forum, and the voice of every serious thinker who is trying to build will find its place there. The Christian solution is our hope and our quest.

During the past year there has not been a month pass without some phase of the race question forcing itself upon our notice. Europe, Asia, North America, Africa, Australasia have each provided anew their quota of incidents which reveal the hidden forces of fear or suspicion, of resentment or resistance. In most countries

there are serious-minded statesmen, with here and there an expert, who are giving earnest and patient thought to the whole very complex question. We hear so often the voice of prejudice, which is loud and popular; so loud, that it drowns the quiet, steady voice of balanced judgement and enlightened progress. Yet so established and widespread is prejudice, that any attempt at a clearing must attack the growth at its roots. Kindly sentiment and good intentions cannot arrest its ruinous hold upon the country. So we are faced with a long and unremitting task. For how deep go the roots, and how they spread. They are wedged fast in the hungry, relentless ground of economics, in the stern struggle for existence. They are interlaced almost inextricably with the roots of social and religious customs. They feed upon the fertile soil of history and tradition. He who would uproot this invader must indeed be well equipped.

Certain it is that force will not really avail in this enterprise. Craft, once called secret diplomacy, is already a discredited implement. Ignorant men and ambitious men, and mere adventurers and traffickers in human life have wielded both of these weapons, and the world is strewn with their destruction.

Wisdom and justice have kept toiling through the heat of the day, and they have much to show for their work. But even they have failed in the crises of the nations and the races.

What then? Is there *anything* that can change this human jungle into a garden of God? Is all this thought and effort to bring God's Kingdom to earth quite hopeless and, as some modern theologians tell us, quite "unscriptural"? Is it really only visionaries who talk of applying the principles of Jesus to international questions? Were they never meant so to be applied? Was the Sermon on the Mount addressed only to a select group of disciples and never given for general application? Is it possible in the light of the relentless facts of life, with its individual and racial struggle for existence, to put Christ first and "existence" second?

In the pages that follow are some of the facts, some of the trends of thought that start such a process of almost fierce probing.

Are we as Christians ready to search the teachings of Jesus and in his spirit of love and service and courage apply them where they touch for us this question of race relationships?

Pre-eminently a Student Problem

By Basil Mathews.

A splendid, tall, fine-looking young Arab was being enrolled as a student of El Azhar University. The usual questions were put to him by the President of the University.

" Where do you come from ? "

" From Mecca. "

" You mean your parents come from Mecca ? "

" No, I just came from Mecca myself. "

" But you are speaking English ? "

" Yes, my Father taught me English. "

" But how did your father know English in Mecca ? "

" He was taught, Sir, by some Indian pilgrims who had learned English in India. "

" What is your father's business ? "

" He adjusts misunderstandings and quarrels between the pilgrims of different nationalities who do not understand each other's language. "

" How then did you hear of this University ? "

" Your notice, sir, was in the *Mokattam* (a Cairo newspaper) and we take that newspaper in Mecca. My father read it and said I should come to Cairo to get an education. "

This is but one example of many which show a highly significant trend in the attitude of the Moslem forward-looking father and his son to-day. The El-Azhar University, the intellectual citadel of Moslem faith, is in Cairo ; yet here we have the most conservative circles of Islam deliberately putting their sons into touch with the progressive teaching of Western science and even of Christianity.

This co-operation and friendly inter-action of East and West is found in a city where Egyptian nationalism has its highest temperature. I saw students of the Government high-schools pouring in a torrent down the streets, shouting and waving flags in a demonstration

against the then Labour PrimeMinister of England, who had just said that he would stand by the agreement that England should control the Sudan.

A swift journey across the whole student-world of Asia, as well as much of Africa, would reveal this same turmoil of simultaneous race antagonism and desire for a newer knowledge of Western science. We should meet with many illustrations of the most widespread and profound of all the secular issues confronting humanity — the Race Problem. That problem is, in quite a number of different ranges, peculiarly one which belongs to the student world.

A Matter of Livelihood.

First, students feel its impact and are being swayed by its passions, and their future livelihood and vocation is, in a multitude of cases, bound up with it. Whether we look at the numerous Asiatic students who are to be found in Oxford or Cambridge, Glasgow, Liverpool, Manchester, Edinburgh, Berlin, Paris, Geneva, Vienna, and Prague, or, on the other hand, at the passionate cross-currents of racial, political movement thats way the Hindu and Moslem university life of North India ; or again at the vehement anti-Christian and anti-Western flood-tide that is flowing this year in the lives of many thousands of students in the Far East, we discover that this Race Problem is permanently one affecting the whole present life and future career of students.

A Call for Specialists.

It is again pre-eminently a student problem because — perhaps more than any other of the really great issues menacing man — we know relatively little of the real scientific truth about it.

If the present student generation can specialise sufficiently to discover and apply that truth in the next generation with a view to solving the problem, that may change history. There is indeed no section of human knowledge, no faculty of any university, which can be said to be unable to contribute toward a solution of the Race problem.

For the Race Problem is geographically world-wide in its range and affects the future of the life of men of every continent. Its

roots run back through the soil of human history. They run down into the physical heritage of man as a created being. They penetrate into the profoundest issues of the psychology at once of instinct and of will. They are bound up with the present world economic structure and powerful forces of industrial expansion. They form one of the most baffling yet vital tangles in the planet-wide problem of education. They confront the Christian belief in the Fatherhood of God and in the Kingdom of God with a titanic challenge.

It is a problem of swiftly growing populations on a planet with a land-surface of fixed dimensions. It is a problem of the clash of different standards of morals and manners, cleanliness and cost of living — indeed, of civilisation — in a world where modern transport is throwing men of all races into each other's immediate presence. It is a problem of conflicting claims to territory, of the use of language, of political authority, and of self-determination. It is a problem in the educable capacity of some races ; and in the nature of equality and justice in a complex world. At its very root, and most of all for the Christian individual and the Christian Society of the Church, it is a problem as to which is to triumph — the ineradicable actual facts of biological difference, or the spiritual fact of the unity of man as created in God's image. On the issue of that conflict the future of the human race depends.

Here we see that biology, psychology, history, anthropology, economics, pedagogy, the theory of civilisation, political philosophy, and even theology and metaphysics are directly related to the problem and therefore to its solution.

Youth Demands a " Place in the Sun. "

It is thirdly essentially a student problem because it is preeminently the educated young life of the races which are now increasingly claiming either " self-determination " or a fuller citizenship, which are the strongest and most potent and vocal factors. This point can be illustrated in every continent. The writer has in particular seen it recently in the Southern States of North America. There an increasingly enlightened state of advance in Negro high school education, for example in North Carolina, is producing every year some thousands of young high school Negro graduates Whether they go on to the university or not, their demand on life is quite

different from that of the cotton-field, illiterate Negro youth. They want books, music, drama, better houses, a higher economic standard, and liberty to fulfil the duties as well as to possess the rights of citizenship. Undoubtedly the United States are enormously richer for such a stream of educated young life. But, in the meantime, this youth is likely, in the process of demanding its place in the sun, to be anything but tranquil. The leadership of the younger generation, as expressed on the one side in a personality like Mr. Dubois, and a paper like *The Crisis*, and, on the other hand, by personalities like Mr.Alain Locke and the new book he has edited called *The New Negro*, or a magazine like *Opportunity*, is a picture of new life creating new disturbances, the penalty of advance.

Fundamentally a Problem in Education.

The Race Problem is again essentially a student problem in that in the last resort (at least in the conviction of the writer) its solution is a problem in education. Let us catalogue briefly the conditions of solution arising out of conditions of ferment which have already been outlined.

The old hypnotic authority of the white man has largely disappeared. The voices of the peoples all over the world express a determination to grasp and keep control of their own destinies. Their claims may be those of Western democracy or the newer dictatorships like those of Mustapha Kemal, Shah Pahlevi of Persia, or of the Soviet, but the voice is one.

Permanently to resist this claim of the races for expansion and self-development, would inevitably lead to war. On the other hand, to accept it swiftly without qualification or development of existing capacity, would lead to chaos.

What, then, is the way out ?

Co-operation on a World Scale.

In method, the ways out are a multitude ; in spirit they are one — the spirit of the will to co-operate in lifting the whole standard of life — moral, spiritual and physical.

In the Southern States of America already real progress which can be scientifically registered, has been made by getting the leaders

on the different sides together in a multitude of centres to analyse friction points, investigate facts, and take steps to remove the friction under just conditions. Those friction points on a planetary scale include : — The clash of economic interests ; the fear of labour under-cutting of wages ; the anger against exclusion, and the sense of insecurity and injustice ; the passion for equal industrial opportunity, and for a share in electing government ; the desire for education.

To work on a world scale for the elimination of these elements of friction is a task greater than that to which any generation of students has ever yet been called. It is something that man as a civilized being has to learn unless his civilization is to go down in ruin.

The Problem Can be Solved.

We should see no hope of a solution if race conflict were rooted in the very make-up of man himself. The fact that this is not so is established by the demonstration that it emerges where these friction points have been created, and does not exist in spite of the most striking multiplication of race contacts, as for instance in a land like Brazil, where the friction factors do not come into play.

If the forces in the world, and especially the student forces, which desire goodwill, reconciliation and conditions based on justice, will work with skill, unity and vigour, they can solve the problem. That assertion would, as I say, not be true if the material and physical forces that have created the problem are themselves the ultimate reality of the universe. But if the ultimate power really is Spirit, and if that spirit is Love ; — in a word, if there is God and if He is " the Father Almighty, " then Mankind, His creation, is essentially one in his spiritual nature.

The first and most powerful factor in working toward inter-racial peace is an education that interprets the world as a creation of spirit ; an education of the youth of all peoples which will give through history, geography and other subjects a just interpretation of the life of the other peoples of the world.

This type of education includes not only, although mainly, the shaping of school education, but the strengthening of all the elements in the press and in literature that make for mutual understanding. It would also involve as a part of the educational process, inter-racial conferences at once of leadership and of the rank and file.

It would be an education too that would not attempt to assimilate all peoples to a common cultural standard ; but would, on the contrary develop in each those elements which constitute its distinctive gift to the world. It would aim centrally at building character of such a type that inter-racial respect, confidence and happy natural social relationship could be built upon it.

A Real Basis for Racial Inter-relationships.

Those who have met in continuous social intercourse and conference men and women of other races in whom these qualities have been created by education, know that there is a real basis for racial inter-relationship, and that the Christian Gospel has inherent in it the full message on this issue.

The nations that have called themselves Christian have, indeed, themselves gone far to create the problem and to exasperate the whole situation. This is due not to the Christianity that they profess, but to their manifest failure to apply their Christianity. They have not even begun to understand its bearing on the race problem. Christendom has no single mind upon the race problem and, as a world force, has developed no common policy. Yet there certainly lies within the teaching of the New Testament the truth that can make the world free from the race peril.

Groups of men and women in an increasing multitude are working in every race on this problem from the Christian angle. Sucessful local exploration and experiment in these groups becomes the basis of general application.

To change the heart of humanity is a task that can only be achieved by a world-wide force working in the spirits and the minds of men everywhere. It is a task of educating people of all races in a new spirit. Indeed the world-situation can — from this point of view — be summed up in Mr H.G.Wells' vivid phrase, — " a race between education and catastrophe. "

It is Being Done.

That task of education on a world-scale may sound impossible. It is nothing of the kind. It is as practicable as it is thrilling.

When one looks across the world and sees the new student lea-

dership illustrated in the personalities of men like David Yui, T.Z. Koo, Dr. Aggrey, Dr. Datta and K.T. Paul, and the still younger men who are not only following their lead, but striking new trails, one arrives at the conviction that this thing can be done. We can really help create in the world what Gilbert Murray has called — " the consciousness of the earth as one great city. "

But just as the only ultimate basis for human brotherhood is the spiritual basis of " Our Father, " so the only ultimate power for this triumphant achievement is the power of the Creator who " made of one blood every nation of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth. "

It is not true to say that Christianity has failed in two thousand years to solve those issues — the issues themselves are, in their present range and magnitude, recent, and it is only in our generation that a real search is being made for the moral and spiritual application of Christianity to this world-wide social enigma.

It is therefore a supreme adventure for the new student generation to pioneer against all detraction and derision, and in spite of all external differences of race, wealth, culture and status, to walk the way of world-fellowship in the spirit of the Son of Man.

Religion and Race

By Kelly Miller.

Marcus Garvey, some little while ago, shocked the spiritual sensibilities of the religious world by suggesting that the Negro should paint his God black. The idea was revolting even to the Negro, accustomed as he is to the colour bias of the white race, from which he has borrowed his ideal conception of all things in heaven and on earth. The Western mind has so long looked upon God as being naturally and normally white that it has unconsciously identified his visage with his virtue. If Mr Garvey's ideal should prevail, and celestial beings should be painted black, the change in the colour scheme would be a fatal stumbling-block to the white Christian world. Whenever I see Christ and the Angels painted black on the walls of unsophisticated Negro churches, I am reminded of the never-failing tendency of human nature to ennoble and glorify its own type of flesh and blood. Among all peoples in all ages, the gods create man in their own image ; man in his turn fashions his gods in his own likeness. Alexander Pope declares that " an honest man's the noblest work of God ". Robert G. Ingersol retorts with blasphemous aptness, that " an honest god is the noblest work of man ! " Mankind is incurably anthropomorphic. A collection of the idols and graven images of all races would make an interesting anthropological museum. Such a pantheon would but reflect the physical idiosyncrasies of the people who fashioned them. Some would be white, some yellow, some red, some brown and some black. The white man always paints the Devil black, although the best examples of the qualities and essence of his Satanic majesty have been clothed in a white skin. Milton's Satan is not satanic at all. He merely embodies the will and self-determination of the Teutonic race. He is the real hero of Paradise Lost. The imagination must fashion its ideals of excellence in terms of the physical models with which the mind is

most familiar. Idolatry is only personified selfishness. Our deities must have our own colour and facial features, and must speak our own languages and favour our moral ideals and social aims.

Outgrowing Race Religion.

All religions in their genesis and genius were local and racial, and like all other cults, have tended to spread in wider and wide circles with the hope of ultimately embracing all mankind. A universal religion must make the universal appeal, and must rise above and transcend the incidents of race, colour, language, age or clime. The European, the Asiatic and the African, in the fullness of self-consciousness, will not accept a religion whose physical and psychic structure is built on an alien model.

The Hebrew-Christian religion has much of the fundamental requirements of universality. In this essential quality, it is all but completely detached from the incidents of race and nationality. It forbids racial self-worship by prohibiting idolatry in any form. "Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image or any likeness" served for the time to free Hebraism from the defilement of surrounding idolatry. But in its wider application this commandment freed it also from the narrow limits of racial isolation and raised it to the higher requirements of the human spirit for all peoples and for all times.

From the beginning there has been constant apostacy from this universal-ideal. Pride of race and local and national vanity have been in constant rebellion agains the Bible. The Samaritans sought to racialise and localise Jehovah by the vainglorious boast that "our fathers worshipped God in these mountains." Jesus in chastising the narrow intolerant spirit of the Samaritan woman re-affirmed the claims of Christianity as the creed of mankind. "The time cometh and now is when men shall worship the Father neither in these mountains, nor yet at Jerusalem. God is a spirit and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth." This declaration, if taken seriously, would forever banish time and place and race from the spiritual scheme which Jesus came to set up on earth.

John the Baptist, divining the racial conceit of his Hebrew hearers,

warned them of the futility of faith built on flesh and blood. " Think not that it is sufficient to say that we have Abraham to our father ; for I say unto you that God is able of these stones to raise up seed unto Abraham. " The Bible is replete with denunciation of all attempt to limit the ministration of religion to any particular race or breed of men. It seems to be the clear intention of the Christian Bible that spiritual kinship should transcend all human relations. The Apostle Paul sums up the whole matter in his oft repeated declaration that under the Christian dispensation " there is neither Jew nor Greek, Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free. "

The Influence of the Nordic.

Mr H. G. Wells points out in his universal history that the Roman Empire paved the way for the easy spread of a common cult, in that its one hundred million citizens and subjects were in the main of the same race or colour. Could Christianity have made so rapid and wide-spread a conquest, if it had had to adjust itself to the racial chasms and colour schemes as they exist in the world to-day ? This question is easy to ask and hard to answer. The race question was never so sharp and determined in the history of mankind until the Nordic became dominant in the world. Blue eyes and white skin and flaxen hair did not seem to give the Saxon slave any especial preferment in the eyes of his Roman master. Even the Hebrews, who have been the most exclusive race in history, do not show any particular prejudice against or preference for the excluded Gentile because of his race or colour. But with the coming of Teutonic power, the fellowship of the flesh counts for more than the brotherhood of the spirit. The Lutheran Reformation divided Europe along race lines. The Nordics became Protestants ; the non-Nordics, in the main, abided in the Catholic faith. The line of cleavage is almost identical with the spirit of racial tolerance. The Catholic powers came into touch with the weaker and darker races in all parts of the earth, and although there was slavery, cruelty and exploitation according to the spirit and method of the times, yet the darker peoples became benevolently assimilated in the religious, political and social scheme. But wherever the Nordic touches them with the blighting finger of intolerance and exclusiveness, they seem to wither and decay as a leaf in autumn. In Central and South America, the Indian and African races survive

either in their own identities or through the commingling of blood. In the United States, the Indian has gone and the Negro who supplanted him is mortally anxious about his present and future status. Protestant America carries race prejudice to Catholic Cuba and Porto Rico. Nordic Europe is wrought into frenzy because Catholic France treats the native African as a backward brother, and not as an impossible alien. In America the Ku Klux Klan is frankly based upon the Protestant religion, the vital principle of whose creed is to place and fix all non-white Americans in a permanently inferior status.

Where Blood is More Powerful than Religion.

Catholic States are superior to Protestant countries in controlling the virulence and rancour of race prejudice. In Brazil, the African element is as large or larger in proportion than in the Southern states. But race relations are more kindly and friendly in tone in Rio de Janeiro than they are in Richmond, Virginia. In fostering the spirit and power of initiative, in arousing the dominant forces which conquer and bring things to pass, the Protestant powers are easily in the van of progress. Their dominance over natural and physical forces however fails to produce a harmonious adjustment among different breeds of men. The Nordic has never yielded his race prejudice to the requirements of the Christian religion. With him blood is not only thicker than water but more powerful than morality and religion. With the Teuton philanthropic kindliness and social repugnance are not incompatible attributes. He professedly loves the soul but hates the body of those whose blood differs from his own. He will build schools and colleges, establish hospitals and asylums, will give of his substance and his service to carry the light to the dark nooks and corners of the earth, but his tough Teutonic spirit balks at the suggestion of the concrete brotherhood of man. Several years ago, it may be recalled, during the Episcopal Convention in Richmond, the Bishop of New York invited the Bishop of Hayti to be his dinner guest. This simple act of normal courtesy almost wrecked the gathering of the elect of a religion whose basic creed avows belief in the communion of the saints. If the Founder and Head of the Church had chanced to visit Richmond at that time, what would he have said and done ?

Would he have treated the prejudice mongers as severely as he did the money changers on an occasion of provocation ? Will Christianity be able to overcome the Nordic race prejudice, or must it strike a compromise ?

The carnally minded Nordic who is now dominant in the material affairs of the world has lapsed into fleshly idolatry. He has made a graven image of whiteness and bows down and worships it with a reverence surpassing that which he renders to any other God. With him the decree of colour has the strongest controlling sanction. He deems it more blessed to be white that to be right.

Christianity that is Exclusive.

It is this avowal of belief in a creed and open disregard in practice which brands the adherent with the stamp of pharisaism. Christianity to-day is facing the colour line of the world. Race prejudice is the greatest vice of our generation, and stands squarely athwart the kingdom of heaven whose coming all Christians are pledged to promote. If peace on earth and good-will among men be the proclaimed objective, this goal can never be attained while race and colour are allowed to frustrate the application of its principles. We send missionaries to Turkey and to China, and the natives receive their good gift of material well-being, but repudiate teachings which the teachers fail to exemplify in their daily dealings with their fellow men, guilty only of a skin differently coloured from their own. It is all but impossible for a Japanese to be a Christian in California. I know a man in the city of Washington who purchased a home which suited his taste and circumstances. It happened that this particular house was situated in a community of white Christians. The ministers of the Gospel of the several denominations became indignant that a fellow Christian, a few shades off-colour, should dare to invade their neighbourhood. They banded themselves together to deprive this man of his legal and human rights. The public session of protest with a view to expulsion was held in a Christian church. The session was opened with the militant song " Onward Christian soldiers ". The persecuted brother of colour might well have retorted in the language of King Aggripa " Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian ".

The races are often most completely segregated in the Christian

Church. In business, in politics, in schools, there is much intermingling on a common plane. But not so in the Church which professes to welcome all of God's children alike. Where this separation is acceptable and agreeable to all concerned, and where other than the mere incidents of colour determine the basis of association, it may not violate any of the essentials of Christian fellowship. But where race and colour constitute the bar sinister, it is inconsistent with the Church of Christ as the universal Saviour of mankind. Should Jesus come to earth next Sabbath morning, assuming for the occasion the guise of a man of colour, the door of his own Church would be slammed in his face.

The Methodists of the South reject overtures of reunion with their estranged Northern brethren because, in the scheme of reunion, perhaps a white bishop might be required to sit at a common council table with an equally learned and pious bishop of the coloured group, to deliberate upon the problems of the salvation of the souls of men. Christian inconsistency is bringing Christianity into disrepute. To the non-Christian all of this must be amusing to a high degree. If Christians are no better than the rest of the world, they should have the moral courage and candour to say so, and not try to deceive their fellow men by a superior assumption of brotherly love and sympathy. The late Mr. Gompers used to retort, when coloured workmen complained that labour organisations did not give the race a square deal, that his organisation followed the example of the Christian Church in its policy of race discrimination. The Church, he declared, was an altruistic body which deals in higher moral and spiritual values, while the labour unions were purely material and secular, dealing in dollars and cents. The world could not be expected to be better than the Church.

A pious missionary, in recounting the inestimable blessings which Christianity had brought to the Hawaiian race, rejoiced in the fact that it had prepared thousands of departed souls for the blissful hereafter and rescued the benighted heathen from everlasting damnation. This must have sounded like bitter irony to the Tahitian who craved for his race a place in the sun. Religion has a double function — the salvation of the soul and social salvation. In so far as it relates to the metaphysical questions of the life beyond, religion has no more relation to social relations that the Einstein theory.

But our great concern to-day has to do with religion as a sociological phenomenon, and its relations and reactions upon the life that is here and now. It is with this thought in mind that those of us who are Christians pray to see our religion freed from the moral stigma of hypocrisy, so that the atheist and the agnostic may not point the finger of scorn at us and say: "Your Bible breaks down at the colour line."

" We Wonder "

By Marion V. Cuthbert.

We sat in the prettily furnished living room of a coloured woman in Nashville, Tennessee, some eight or ten of us, talking of many things, but veering steadily, as coloured people do, toward the ever-present topic, race. And upon this occasion we slipped very naturally into such a subject, for we had just dined in the cafeteria of the new Baptist Publishing House, a fine building housing the publishing company, a bank, an auditorium, offices and the cafeteria, all designed by a Negro architect and owned and operated by Negroes. The architect himself was one of our party, a modest man, intelligent and alert to many phases of Negro life.

" In a college city such as Nashville it is good to see business developing along with academic things, " I ventured.

" Well, of course Atlanta and Birmingham are ahead of us, but they are real commercial centres. Negro business follows the white man. "

" And yet in a city such as Nashville, with its leadership in inter-racial co-operation, our projects ought to get a good hearing."

" You don't take this inter-racial business too seriously, do you ? " from one.

" What's your idea of this student stuff ? " from another.

" Lord save us ! Don't get on to that. These white folks are fooling us, as usual ! " still again.

And in all innocence I made my answer. Last summer by special favour of the gods I had been a member of the Y.M.C.A. Pilgrimage to Europe, and have had occasion several times since to address groups, white and coloured and mixed, on things inter-racial and concerning the Student Movement, with my trip as a starting point. In fact, my presence in Nashville was on just such business, and I had spoken to the Student Forum of white and coloured students, to four Negro colleges and one White one.

" Do you mean to say " I began, faltering a little at this wholesale

scepticism, " that you have no confidence in the Student Movement ? Why, these young people are absolutely sincere. They believe with all their hearts what they are saying and are not merely dealing with fine words, but are putting their beliefs into action. "

" Absolute tommy-rot ! It's nothing but a kind of fanaticism that at present is quite a fad. And here in the South how many, outside of these few handfuls in a few colleges, are seriously considering giving the Negro a better deal ? "

" But, " I said, " it's not how many, nor where. The wonderful thing is that the idea has actually been projected into a world, or a portion of a world, that would have been horror-struck with such a thought a few years ago. "

" You're an idealist ", was the reply. " Because a few immature white boys and girls have broken bread with you, you are willing to accept the Whites as friends. Let me tell you a few things. In how many White groups would more than two or three Negroes be welcome ? Just let us come in any number and it's time to adopt other measures than the brotherhood-of-man business. And what will be the attitude of these same white students a few years from now, when they are outside of the shadow of a college and thrown among the hardened older groups ? The Negro will then be all right *in his place* and that place is *below* the white man. Just let us approach them in abilities and culture and we are at once undesirable. You are a Northerner and you haven't been in the South long enough to know the conditions as those of us do to whom Dixie is home. "

" No " I ventured, " You've missed the whole point of view of both groups that are striving for better understanding. Of the white men and women whom I call friends, I do not ask that they subscribe to all my acquaintances as their personal friends, any more than they have made such a proposition to me. But we do hope for this — that through our contact their group of Whites will have a greater respect and appreciation for our people and that our people will have a greater respect and appreciation for them. We are making no attempt whatsoever to dovetail the two races. But we are trying to get both sides to look at each other fearlessly and comprehendingly and to provoke a greater willingness on the part of the Whites toward giving the Negro a chance in life. And as for your contention that these young people will outgrow all of their altruism in a little while — it is glorious to have lived on Olympus for even a short span. And the

withdrawing of a few individuals, more or less, from Truth has nothing to do with its permanency or efficacy in the long run."

"It will make a great difference. Truth needs her champions!"

"Has she ever lacked them?"

"Well, lets talk about the facts in this town. Take Prof. M. What's his interest in Negroes for? He comes among us, and we, always too willing to talk of ourselves, tell all we know, and he makes his notes, gets out a handsome volume, and pockets the profits."

"Perhaps so. I don't know him well enough to contradict. But surely, the Rev. P. is sincere."

"I don't think so. You always feel he's holding back somewhere along the line. I don't mean to say that he isn't a fine fellow, and he certainly has done and is doing a fine piece of work here, but he hasn't gone all the way with us."

"Well, I've got this much to say", I came back. "If he hasn't gone all the way it is safe to say that neither have we, and as proof I offer this conversation. I can't speak for the older generation, I can't speak for your professors nor your professional sociologists, but I can speak for some of the young people of this country whom I have met and have known long enough to be rather sure about. They are tremendously sincere and I believe with all my heart that they have found a better way and are willing to follow it at some sacrifice to themselves. When a person faces deep family resentment and social ostracism he may be working on a notion or a fad, but he is certainly in its clutches and not toying with it. But even more convincing is that communion of the spirit, that understanding between one and another that transcends all speech. Some of us have experienced these things, and I for one assert, in the face of my own people, that some young white men and women in America have in a measure been reborn and have found it possible to be whole-souled friends of young coloured men and women who have been ready, oh so long! for such ties. And I believe this rebirth is going to mean more toward the solution of the race problem in America than any formal statement or preachment of righteousness. Here in the South the women are slightly ahead of the men. That is true of both races, and can so easily be true anywhere, for women have much of tenderness and understanding in them. And I say that it is up to us to accept these newer things and this newer day — will the world never tire of baiting youth?"

Idealist, dreamer, romancer — call me what ye will, O my people, but I yearn for you in your lack of faith. Have I lived so little and so dully that I am not aware of injustice, and the monster, prejudice ? But have I lived so little and so dully again, that I have not learned of the goodness of God, or have not learned to recognise that goodness in His children ?

Selfishly, I am more concerned with my people than with the white people. If there are doubters and scoffers among them, let them hold forth. If there is little of genuineness among them, let both the ardent and the unbelieving expose hypocrisy. But for my people, let me implore for a faith in the possibilities of good in mankind.

Gex Conference comes back to me. Over there in Europe we were singing the songs of my people, the songs of slavery and hope, to these men and women from all over the world. Long ago the passionate belief in the ultimate triumph of right flooded the hearts of black folk and overflowed in song. And a God who could raise up Abolitionists can open the eyes of youth. Let us not, as we assume a greater culture, conform to a growing doubt.

I may be pathetic in my plea for youth, but I want no maudlin comforting. I believe there are great-souled young white men and women in the world who are staking their all for a better order, for the understanding of races and for the brotherhood of man.

And this is no challenge, but the statement of a great task

L'Attitude des Peuples Latins vis-à-vis des Races de Couleur

Henri A. Junod.

(*Abstract* M. Junod here gives valuable information on " The attitude of the Latin Peoples towards the Coloured Races ". We are warned to be on our guard against generalisations drawn from a limited field of observed instances. We must distinguish between the attitude of individuals and that of Governments. In general, the attitude of the French, Belgians and Portuguese is much less disdainful towards the Native than that of the Anglo-Saxon. Reference is made to the matrimonial relationships between the races, which are described for the most part as irregular. The second part of the article describes the attitude of the Governments — Belgian, French, and Portuguese. It discusses their methods of administration under the headings of direct and indirect administration and assimilation. Owing to difference of mentality, customs, and social life between the Blacks and Whites, the Belgian Government hold that it would be a great mistake " to try to assimilate the Black to the White, to govern him like the White, or to treat him as a White". Their policy is a liberal one, and promises to bring effective protection to the indigene. The French administrators have a different problem in their North African Colonies, where they have come among populous Muhammedan settlements. The French Minister for the Colonies is quoted as saying : " To protect and educate the Native races is the first responsibility of France, and in accomplishing it, she will remain faithful to her humane traditions. The task of the administrator is that of an apostle, to carry out which he must have the sacred fire, disinterested ideals, faith." The French follow what is called a " policy of association." In application however, it seems to forsake somewhat the ideals which are claimed for it. This would seem to be specially so in the matter of language instruction, which aims at making French the dominant tongue, and so deprives the Native of his most precious inheritance. In the Portuguese Colonies racial distinctions are almost non-existent. Their policy is described as that of " assimilation " looking definitely forward to absorbtion of the Native into the body of their own national life. The feeling of the Portuguese in regard to language is the same as that of the French. He fails however to understand the Blacks from the back-country. While his laws are good and humane, they are not strictly applied, and one finds forced-labour, with its abuses, in operation. In all these matters where Native races are concerned, the writer sees much hope in the work already begun by the League of Nations.)

Le sujet que l'on me demande de traiter ici est bien difficile et bien délicat. Pour en parler avec compétence, il faudrait avoir vécu dans les colonies des Français, des Belges, des Portugais, les trois principaux peuples latins qui ont des relations intimes avec les races de couleur, avec les tribus africaines en particulier. Tel n'est point mon cas ; j'ai demeuré bien des années au Mozambique, chez les Portugais ; mais même ici mon expérience n'est pas complète. Les circonstances de l'Angola ou de la Guinée portugaise diffèrent considérablement de celles du Mozambique et il est très malaisé de prononcer un jugement d'ensemble. Je fais donc d'avance toutes mes réserves et n'envisage ce petit exposé que comme un essai qui devra peut-être être revisé sur certains points.

Il faut distinguer dès l'abord entre l'attitude adoptée par les individus dans leurs relations personnelles avec l'indigène et la politique suivie par les Gouvernements dans l'administration des Colonies.

I. **L'Attitude Personnelle.**

Quant à l'attitude personnelle, l'idée répandue c'est que le Latin, qu'il soit Français, Belge ou Portugais, est beaucoup moins hautain vis-à-vis du Noir que l'Anglo-Saxon. Il l'envisage davantage comme un frère ; il est plus aimable à son égard et ne se sent pas séparé de lui par une barrière infranchissable. Je crois que cette opinion générale est fondée. Un de mes collègues, au Transvaal, parlait un jour avec un pasteur indigène, homme cultivé, au caractère duquel chacun rendait hommage dans le pays. Un marchand anglais assistait à l'entretien. Quand il se sépara de lui, le missionnaire serra la main au pasteur noir. Alors le marchand se détourna avec dégoût. Il ne pouvait supporter de voir un Européen donner la main à un Africain! On verrait difficilement un fait pareil se passer dans une colonie latine. Cependant il ne faut pas exagérer. J'ai vu des Anglais se comporter avec beaucoup de bienveillance vis-à-vis d'hommes de couleur. D'autre part, certains Latins sont parfois très hautains à l'égard des Noirs. Un jour je reçus la visite d'un Administrateur portugais sur ma station. Nous causions agréablement sous la véranda de la maison missionnaire, quand un des anciens de la congrégation arriva, tout souriant, très honoré de voir ce personnage important venir parmi nous. Il lui apportait quelques beaux œufs, tout blancs,

tout frais, pour lui témoigner son plaisir. Cet ancien d'Eglise n'était pas très bien habillé. Il portait en général une petite plume d'autruche piquée dans sa courte barbiche. Mais son cœur était excellent et il regardait Monsieur l'Administrateur avec des yeux si bons en lui offrant son présent, le produit de sa modeste basse-cour, la chose la plus précieuse dont il pût disposer... Le visiteur jeta sur les œufs du Noir un regard dédaigneux ; il ne répondit pas un mot à l'indigène qui se tenait debout, près de lui, attendant une parole, un signe d'approbation et qui finit par se retirer, tout malheureux d'avoir été si mal reçu. C'était un spectacle navrant.

Il y a donc de grandes différences individuelles dans l'attitude prise par les représentants des diverses races blanches vis-à-vis de l'Africain ; néanmoins il est certain que, pour les Latins, la répugnance vis-à-vis de la couleur est moins grande que chez les Anglo-Saxons.

Les Relations Matrimoniales.

Cela est particulièrement manifeste dans les relations matrimoniales. Quand je parle de relations matrimoniales, il faut s'entendre. Il ne s'agit pas de mariages normaux et légitimes. Ceux-ci sont extrêmement rares. Dans la plupart des Colonies ils sont même impossibles. Je connais le cas d'un blanc qui aurait voulu contracter une union matrimoniale en tout bien, tout honneur, avec une jeune fille indigène. La loi de la Colonie ne le lui permit pas. Le seul mariage possible, c'était le concubinat.

Or il est certain que le concubinat avec une femme noire est beaucoup plus fréquent chez les Latins que chez les autres blancs. J'ai connu au Transvaal un Anglais Africander (c'est-à-dire né au Sud de l'Afrique) qui avait une, même deux épouses indigènes. Il n'était pas le seul dans la région excentrique que j'habitais. Mais cette sorte de cohabitation était sévèrement jugée par la population blanche. Durant la guerre anglo-boer un capitaine qui avait accompli des exploits dans la brousse ne fut pas reçu dans la société anglaise parce qu'on avait appris qu'il vivait avec une noire.

Il en va tout autrement dans la Colonie portugaise. Lorsque j'y arrivai, en 1889, chaque blanc, pour ainsi dire, mêmes les employés supérieurs, menait cette vie-là et nul ne s'en offusquait. Le mariage,

sans doute, n'était pas régulier, mais les enfants pouvaient être légitimés. Il se peut même qu'un colon portugais quitte sa femme au Portugal, vienne s'établir au Mozambique pour quelques années. Il se marie — à la noire, c'est-à-dire qu'il paye une certaine somme pour l'acquisition d'une épouse, conformément à la coutume bantou ; elle lui donnera peut-être des enfants. Quand il en aura assez de l'Afrique, il retournera dans son pays, prendra ses enfants avec lui, et sa femme blanche les reçoit, les adopte... Quant à la noire, elle deviendra ce qu'elle pourra. Ces mœurs prouvent que l'opposition des races est beaucoup moins marquée chez les Latins que chez les colons européens appartenant à d'autres peuples. Il serait juste cependant d'ajouter que, même au Mozambique, cette promiscuité d'il y a trente-cinq ans est moins pratiquée aujourd'hui qu'alors. Des femmes portugaises sont venues, des familles régulières se sont constituées. Elles forment une classe supérieure où le concubinat avec la femme indigène ne serait plus admis. Mais s'il n'est plus pratiqué au même degré, c'est pour une raison sociale et non parce que la répugnance pour la race noire aurait augmenté.

II. **L'Attitude des Gouvernements.**

S'il est intéressant de noter l'attitude personnelle des divers peuples européens à l'égard des indigènes, celle des Gouvernements est plus importante encore. Quelle politique les pays latins colonisateurs ont-ils adoptée ?

Les documents nécessaires pour répondre à cette question ne manquent pas. Lorsque les anciennes colonies allemandes devinrent les territoires à mandat, certains principes furent proclamés pour leur administration ; les puissances colonisatrices eurent alors l'occasion d'examiner jusqu'à quel point elles appliquaient ces principes et des articles importants parurent dans les journaux spéciaux[1], même des livres volumineux comme celui de M. Albert Sarraut, Ministre des colonies françaises[2].

Résumer toute cette littérature est impossible. Disons seulement que la question se pose différemment selon qu'il s'agit de colonies

[1] Article de M. G. van der Kerker, de Donghe, dans la *Revue du Congo*, etc.
[2] La mise en valeur des Colonies françaises. Payot.

de peuplement dans lesquelles le pouvoir colonisateur aspire à placer ses propres ressortissants en grand nombre ou de Colonies de domination où le climat ne permet pas aux Européens de se multiplier et qui doivent demeurer des pays de Noirs.

Le Congo Belge.

Le Congo belge est une Colonie de domination typique ; il contient 11 millions d'indigènes contre 9,500 Européens. Le climat n'y est pas favorable à la race blanche. On sait de quelle manière la colonisation y débuta. Ce fut, dans toute son horreur, le « Pacte colonial » c'est-à-dire ce système d'exploitation absurde et coupable, qui consiste à faire de l'argent à tout prix, par tous les moyens possibles, sans se soucier de l'indigène ni de l'avenir du pays. L'opinion publique mondiale s'est insurgée contre « les atrocités du Congo » et la Belgique, en prenant la responsabilité du gouvernement, a transformé du tout au tout le régime de la Colonie.

Le système que l'on adopte de plus en plus pour gouverner ces vastes territoires, c'est celui de l'*administration indirecte*. Il s'oppose à celui de l'administration directe et de l'assimilation. Le Gouvernement belge s'est rendu à l'évidence. L'indigène est foncièrement différent du blanc. Il a sa mentalité, ses mœurs séculaires, son système de vie sociale. Ce serait une grande erreur de vouloir l'assimiler au blanc, le gouverner comme le blanc, le traiter comme le blanc. Il a ses chefs : que ses chefs continuent à exercer leur autorité sur leurs sujets, sous la surveillance des agents coloniaux, qui n'administrent ainsi qu'indirectement, avec tact et sympathie. De là la nécessité de respecter la coutume. Sans doute l'Etat européen défendra les coutumes barbares : infanticide, anthropophagie, procès de sorcellerie, etc. Mais il tolérera les autres. Il laissera les missions chrétiennes les transformer peu à peu par la persuasion. De plus il s'efforcera de favoriser la multiplication des indigènes en mettant à leur portée des soins médicaux éclairés. Il surveillera l'emploi de la main d'œuvre indigène ; il ne permettra pas qu'une proportion trop considérable de travailleurs soient envoyés loin de leurs villages dans les mines ou les plantations ; il interdira même la création illimitée d'entreprises industrielles qui exigerait l'emploi d'un pourcentage trop élevé d'ouvriers indigènes : la population autochtone est le trésor le plus précieux de la Colonie ; il s'agit donc de la pro-

téger avant tout. L'Administration indirecte c'est aussi le Protectorat.

Voilà assurément un beau programme. Il n'est appliqué dans toute son ampleur que dans le Ruanda et l'Arundi, les anciennes colonies allemandes ; mais il semble bien que les meilleurs spécialistes coloniaux belges cherchent à le réaliser dans toute la Colonie.

Jusqu'à quel point les agents locaux s'inspirent-ils de ces principes ? Nous ne le savons. Mais le fait seul qu'un programme aussi libéral a été formulé permet d'attendre beaucoup pour l'avenir.

Les Colonies Françaises.

La situation des Colonies françaises en Afrique diffère de celle du Congo belge, par le fait qu'une partie d'entre elles, celles du Nord du Continent, sont des Colonies de peuplement et que la France y a trouvé des peuples musulmans. Le problème s'y pose de toute autre façon. Mais dans l'Afrique occidentale et dans l'Afrique équatoriale françaises, les circonstances sont très pareilles. Une population blanche très clairsemée y est noyée au sein de quatorze millions d'indigènes.

M. Alb. Sarraut, ministre des Colonies, dans l'ouvrage indiqué plus haut, consacre un long et beau chapitre à la politique coloniale française. Un véritable souffle d'idéalisme anime ces pages. Le conquérant, affirme-t-il, ne doit point poursuivre un intérêt égoïste. S'il veut mettre en valeur la richesse naturelle de la Colonie, il est beaucoup plus important de mettre en valeur la richesse humaine. Soigner et éduquer les races indigènes est le premier devoir de la France, et, en l'accomplissant, elle reste fidèle à ses traditions humanitaires. S'adressant aux futurs administrateurs qui se préparent à l'Ecole coloniale, M. Sarraut leur décrivait leur tâche comme un apostolat, pour l'accomplissement duquel il faut avoir le feu sacré, l'idéal désintéressé, la foi[1] ! On croirait lire les exhortations adressées par un Directeur de missions à de jeunes missionnaires partant pour leur champ de travail, sauf que l'élément religieux n'y joue aucun rôle.

En opposition à la politique d'exploitation du Pacte Colonial et de la politique d'assimilation par trop superficielle, le Ministre

[1] Voir *Dépêche Coloniale* du 4 novembre 1922.

des Colonies françaises proclame *la politique d'association*. La France est numériquement faible. La diminution de la natalité y est marquée plus qu'ailleurs. Qu'elle associe donc à son sort, qu'elle incorpore aux quarante millions de Français de France les soixante millions de ses sujets de couleur. Pas de vassalité! La solidarité étroite entre tous les membres de la Nation! Pour cela il s'agit de former par l'éducation, une élite toujours plus nombreuse qui prendra part au Gouvernement, car « la dignité et la capacité de l'être humain ne se mesurent point à la nuance plus ou moins accusée de son teint, mais bien à la valeur de conscience individuelle, au coefficient de vertus personnelles dont il sait faire preuve ». Mais il s'agit ici d'une élite, non de la masse indigène amorphe à laquelle il ne saurait être question d'accorder dès maintenant la naturalisation et les droits politiques. Ce serait tomber dans l'erreur « assimilatrice ». C'est donc progressivement que s'élaboreront les institutions représentatives auxquelles l'indigène sera admis pour collaborer avec l'autorité française.

L'une des conséquences de cette incorporation de la population autochtone à la nation française, c'est l'introduction du Noir dans l'armée. La France a besoin de soldats ; la contribution militaire des colonies, fixée d'abord à 332,000 hommes, a été réduite à 100,000 environ. Cette militarisation de l'indigène nous rend rêveur, confessons-le. Car il ne s'agit pas seulement de pourvoir à la sécurité des Colonies en temps de paix, mais de répondre aux exigences de la défense nationale. Certes il ne sied à personne d'émettre un avis sur une question aussi délicate que celle de la sûreté d'un Etat : c'est cet Etat qui en est juge. Mais il est permis de se demander jusqu'à quel point l'enseignement de l'art de la guerre moderne à des primitifs est recommandable et s'il n'est pas, par ailleurs, très dangereux pour le pouvoir colonial. M. Sarraut ne craint pas de remettre entre les mains des indigènes le pouvoir que l'éducation militaire leur donne. Il ne croit pas qu'ils s'en servent jamais contre leurs maîtres, grâce à l'esprit libéral que la France apporte à son œuvre colonisatrice, et parce que les plus intelligents de ses sujets coloniaux comprennent qu'ils ont tout avantage à lui rester unis. Cependant les événements de Syrie ont montré que l'opinion n'est pas unanime à ce sujet. Peut-être aussi les représentants de l'autorité blanche ne s'inspirent-ils pas toujours de cet idéal d'altruisme que prêche le Ministre. Et l'on sait comment les fautes de subalternes peuvent cau-

ser des révoltes, malgré l'excellence des principes posés par l'autorité supérieure. Nous ferions une seconde réserve à propos de la politique d'association que poursuit actuellement la France. Elle a pour corollaire que l'enseignement indigène doit être généralisé en langue française. C'est ainsi, par la militarisation et l'enseignement en français que sera obtenue cette vaste et méthodique francisation de la masse des naturels. Ou nous nous trompons fort, ou ce système d'éducation est l'un des traits de cette politique d'assimilation ailleurs si vertement condamnée par M. Sarraut. La mentalité des populations primitives ne sera-t-elle pas profondément transformée par cette obligation d'adopter la langue de l'Européen ? Que l'indigène l'apprenne dans les degrés supérieurs de l'école primaire, c'est indispensable au point de vue pratique ; c'est même un grand bienfait pour lui. Mais sa langue maternelle est le plus précieux trésor que ses ancêtres lui aient légué. Sans elle, il n'est plus lui. Il faut qu'il la conserve s'il veut devenir autre chose qu'une imitation plus ou moins réussie d'Européen.

Les Colonies Portugaises.

Je demandais un jour à l'un des plus distingués des experts coloniaux portugais : « Quelle est la politique indigène de votre Gouvernement ? » Il me répondit : « Nous n'en avons pas ; dans nos relations avec les Noirs, nous suivons seulement notre naturel ; nous sommes bienveillants, par tendance ». C'est vrai. Pour le Portugais, la barrière de couleur n'existe pas. J'ai vu un Noir d'Angola qui a siégé au Parlement de Lisbonne comme député, et un autre, un métis, celui-là, qui était sénateur, ayant été élu par la population de San Thomé. L'exclusivisme racial est presque totalement absent.

Je pense que, s'il fallait donner un nom à cette politique non encore définie, c'est bien *politique d'assimilation* qu'il faudrait l'appeler. Le Portugais ne semble pas croire à un avenir pour le Noir en dehors de son incorporation, voire même de son absorption, dans le cadre de sa propre vie nationale. De là le fait qu'il exclut la langue indigène de l'école afin de la lui faire oublier le plus vite possible. Tous les Portugais ne sont pas d'accord sur ce point. Il en est qui ont franchement reconnu la légitimé, la nécessité de l'emploi du langage maternel au moins dans les premières années scolaires. Mais la tendance générale y est opposée. Cette recherche de l'assimilation

explique peut-être aussi un second fait que j'ai souvent constaté. Autant le Portugais est libéral et bien disposé pour l'indigène qui parle la langue de Camoès et qui se conforme au genre de vie des civilisés, autant il manque de compréhension pour le Noir de la brousse. Il le traite souvent comme une chose plutôt que comme un être humain. Il lui impose le travail forcé. Entendons-nous bien. Les lois sont bonnes. Elles veulent empêcher le vagabondage et la paresse, et elles ont raison. Il semble qu'elles cherchent l'intérêt de l'indigène, son progrès moral. Mais en fait la corvée est requise pour fournir de main-d'œuvre, non seulement le Gouvernement, mais aussi le colon, le particulier. De là des abus qui ont fait du tort à la réputation du Portugal, comme puissance colonisatrice.

Il a été remédié déjà en partie à ces abus que les plus éclairés des Portugais reconnaissent et contre lesquels ils luttent. Nous croyons savoir qu'on se préoccupe à Lisbonne de formuler une politique coloniale ferme et il faut souhaiter que, au cours de ces délibérations, on se laissera diriger à la fois par la largeur de cœur qui est innée chez ce peuple et par les expériences faites ailleurs dans l'administration indigène.

Au reste un fait nouveau s'est produit. La Société des Nations et le Bureau International du Travail ont commencé à s'occuper de ces questions. Dans l'atmosphère de Genève, elles seront étudiées avec cette combinaison d'idéalisme et de réalisme pratique qui caractérise les travaux de ces grandes institutions internationales. Il ne peut en résulter que du bien, beaucoup de bien, pour l'avenir des populations de couleur. Puisse le jour venir où on ne parlera plus d'une attitude française, portugaise ou anglo-saxonne, mais où toutes les puissances coloniales auront adopté la politique de justice et d'humanité proposée par la Société des Nations.

The "Clash of Colour" in the Union of South Africa

By W. S. Conradie.

To understand the problem " black and white " in South Africa is a very difficult matter. I very much doubt if any one will be able to understand it unless he has been in sympathetic contact with both sections for some years. The more you investigate the matter, the more you are faced with difficulties which appear insurmountable. The people who wish to bless South Africa with their cut and dried solutions of our problems only betray their ignorance, however well-meaning they may be in their counsels.

This country has suffered considerably through over-hasty attempts of people from over seas to correct our treatment of the Native. Misstatement or misrepresentation of facts has been responsible for much unnecessary bitter feeling and has stood in the way of a clearer understanding of the real problem. Only lately we had in the " British Weekly " a statement about our Native problem that can serve no good purpose, viz. that the Natives are not allowed to travel on the South African Railways except in third class compartments, and that these are worse than any third class in Europe. Such a statement can only be the result of getting facts at second hand.

To approach the problem in an intelligent manner we must first of all realise that the matter is much more complicated than is generally believed.

First of all we have the Native races, including quite a number of tribes, each with a more or less distinct national character, and numbering five and a half million. Secondly we have the 160,000 Asiatics, and thirdly the " coloured " people, who are of a more or less mixed stock, partly the heritage of the slave-period. The " coloured " question may for our purpose be left out of consideration. It is in fact the least serious of the problems, and there is reason to hope that it will gradually solve itself.

The Asiatic Question.

The Asiatic question is exercising the brains of our best thinkers at present. What constitutes the problem is that we have here a strong homogeneous element in the community which has secured the mastery in certain trades and threatens the economic position of the European. Repatriation was one attempt at the solution of the problem, but many Indians have no desire to return to India. The next step was the " Reservation of Areas " Bill, which aimed at the restriction of areas open to habitation by Indians, and also at restricting them to the exercise of certain trades. The storm of opposition aroused by this proposed legislation, however, and the visit of the Indian deputation to South Africa, have persuaded the Union Government to postpone it, and to agree to a conference on the matter with the Indian Government. The Rev. C.F. Andrews, on his return to India, reported on his mission to South Africa, and *inter alia* made the following statement : " I want to say most clearly and most positively that I trust General Hertzog (the Prime Minister) and Dr Malan (the Minister responsible for the Bill). The one thing I want now to do is to convey that trust to all I may reach, either by words or pen, in India. " He further reports General Hertzog as saying to him : " The last thing in the world I want to do is to insult and humiliate a great and ancient neighbouring people like the Indians. I want to be just and fair to them. " If the spirit of General Hertzog and Mr. Andrews, as expressed in these utterances, is shared by those responsible for the solution of the problem, we may be sure that a happier day has dawned for South Africa.

The Native Problem.

We are now, however, still left with our most difficult and persistent problem, viz. the Native question, or, as it may very well be termed, if viewed from a Native point of view, the European question in South Africa. " Our Native Problem has been called into existence by the following facts :

(*a*) That white and black races occupy the same land areas in this country.

(*b*) That without assimilation they live together and must work together.

(c) That as a result a clash cannot be avoided. " (Professor du Plessis.) The problem may be put in a different way in the words of General Hertzog in his Smithfield address :

" The Native is under the impression that he is not justly treated, and insists on equality with the European ; not only equality of treatment as far as safety of person and property and redress at the law-courts are concerned, — where equality is not denied him — but equality with the European in all other departments, in the different industrial trades, in the professional or clerical sphere of work, in the Civil Service, in public or private life. In short, his demands include all rights or privileges — not excluding the political right to take part in Parliamentary elections or to be elected as a member of the " House of Assembly ". It would probably be difficult for the foreigner to understand why these rights have *partly* been denied the Native. Perhaps the following words quoted from the same speech of Genera Hertzog would throw some light on the subject. " The Native is still in his childhood, and a long period of time has still to elapse before as a nation he will be adult. To expose him in the meantime to exploitation by the European would be unworthy of our nation. We are therefore obliged to protect and educate him, and when that protection and education necessitate that as a child he is for the time being treated differently from the European, then he has no ground for complaint, and the European does no more than his duty. To neglect that duty would ultimately lead to the fall of both European and Native, and the European has besides his duty towards the Native also the important duty of safeguarding the European and his civilisation. "

Economics and Politics.

The Native problem in South Africa is much more an economic problem than a political problem, although the political aspect is usually much more apparent and much more made use of by Native agitators and other persons who are anxious to force an issue. We have here peoples of different civilisations, and especially of different standards of living, and if the desire for cheap labour cannot be counteracted there is a real danger that the European section will be faced with unemployment on a large scale. That is why there is such a

strong desire for industrial segregation as revealed in the two bills that have been before Parliament this year, viz. " The Reservation of Areas " Bill, and what is popularly known as the " Colour Bar " Bill. The purely economic issue is however intimately bound up with the land question. " The native question can partly at any rate be reduced to the question of land tenure, and to the demand of the Native to have a legal right to that claim. " (Professor du Plessis.)

That is where the real crux of the question comes in. The proposed segregation policy of the present Government must depend for its success largely on the success they will be able to register in a fairer allotment of land to the Native races. Whether a policy of territorial segregation can be carried out in any satisfactory manner is gravely doubted by many people.

Peculiar Difficulties.

From the European standpoint the Native problem presents peculiar difficulties as the result of various causes, some of which go far back into our history and have been responsible for a traditional and to a large extent unreasonably biassed attitude to the Native races. The first of these causes is undoubtedly the long series of Kaffir wars, first on the Eastern frontier of the Cape Province and later also in the Northern provinces, especially the bloody conflicts in Natal. In these wars the provocation certainly did not come from one side only. If we then remember that warfare with an uncivilised race is on most occasions terribly cruel, and that the last of these wars is still too recent to be a matter for history only, we may perhaps appreciate such an attitude a little better.

The second cause responsible for a prejudiced view of the Native problem is the attitude of certain English missionaries early last century. These people came out to South Africa to bring the Gospel to the heathen, but unfortunately, following the doctrine of Rousseau, they saw in the Native only " the noble savage " and before investigating the real situation, were quite prepared to side against the European. To go into details here would lead us too far a-field, but any one who has any intimate knowledge of Dutch South Africans will very soon discover among many of them an illogical opposi-

tion to missionary work, and if we trace this attitude far enough back, we shall find that it has been handed down from that time. This must not for a moment convey the impression that the Dutch section of the population is opposed to all missionary work. If we know anything of the history of missions in Africa, we shall also know that the Dutch Church occupies an honourable place in it.

The third cause operating in this unfortunate clash of interests may be summed up in the one word " fear ", an unconscious fear of the white man when faced with overwhelming numbers, fear for his political superiority, fear also for his economic security. The problem reduces itself to a question of bread and butter. Can the white man hold his own in such an unequal competition ? This fear is perhaps better appreciated when we consider that in South Africa about one-tenth of the European population, generally called " poor whites ", consists of people economically dependent on state aid; people who are doomed to failure in an open economic competition. Our poor white problem is inseparably connected with the Native question, and makes the latter much more difficult. This fear, however, also operates in the national desire for race purity. Are we ultimately to have a black or white South Africa ? Whether this fear is grounded or not cannot be decided here, but it certainly is responsible for much emotional stress, and makes a clear understanding of the real issues difficult.

In the face of these facts we can easily realise that a solution of the problem cannot be effected in a day or two, and that no amount of legislation will be of any use unless public opinion is changed, unless a new spirit is brought to bear on the whole matter. The Government also in attempting a solution do not of course expect that a millennium will be ushered in if their proposals are accepted. They only aim at removing unnecessary obstacles in the way of a better understanding between the different sections.

Face the Facts — from Both Sides.

For those who are in earnest about the problem, the first step must be a thorough study of the question and the spreading of as much information as possible. Prejudice can only be overcome by seeing the other man's point of view, by facing the facts from both

sides. One-sided information and gross ignorance are responsible for much unnecessary misunderstanding. If the present student generation will study books written by intelligent and well-meaning Natives who know what is going on in the Native mind, if they will make a real study of such a book as that of Oldham on " Christianity and the Race Problem " the future of South Africa will certainly be more hopeful. And such hopeful signs are not altogether absent. Students are really gradually beginning to take a more lively interest in these vital problems.

Sympathetic understanding of the Native must further be coupled with a real desire to give to every personality free scope for development. This is what we understand by the fundamental equality of all races. All men as created in the image of God must be given equality of opportunity.

Finally the whole problem must be tackled in the Spirit of Christ, of love. Unless we approach the matter from the point of view of justice — justice as revealed by Christ : unless both sections really become followers of Christ, there is very little hope of an effectual and permanent solution.

The Native Problem in South Africa

From the Point of View of the Dutch-Speaking South African.

By Johan Reyneke.

The Union of South Africa is a country as big as Europe minus Scandinavia and Russia. Its population is that of London. Roughly speaking, one fifth is white and four fifths are black. The Blacks are the original inhabitants of the country. The Whites, who came here afterwards, have also made it their home.

Of the Whites, about one-third are of British descent, and two thirds are "South African Dutch." The Dutch were the first European Colonists. They came here three centuries ago and have developed a distinct nationality. The first British settlers came to the country two hundred years later, and have not lost touch with their Home Country. The overseas mail day is the red-letter day for the English-speaking South African. He gets his letters and papers and books — his ideas — from England. The Dutch South African has no mail day. He does not get anything from Holland. He produces his own papers and magazines. The books he reads in his own tongue are written by his own people and printed in his own country, South Africa. His English-speaking fellow-citizen never reads them.

The average Dutchman in South Africa means no offence therefore when he claims that he is the true white South African, while his English-speaking fellow-citizen is still attached to, and draws his inspiration from, "The Old Country." It is not strange therefore that British and Dutch South Africans should look upon their common neighbour the Native, from slightly different angles, and that the attitude of the Dutch-speaking South African should often be misunderstood and misinterpreted by those who do not come into imtimate contact with him, and do not read what he writes

in his own language. This lack of information is the cause of a great deal of misapprehension and not a little misrepresentation on the part of English-speaking publicists.

Coming to the Native Problem itself in South Africa, we may say that it is a Problem of race relationships and race adjustments. It is the problem of contact between White and Black, politically, socially, and economically — a problem more acutely affecting the Dutch-speaking South African than the English-speaking South African, not only because there are more of the former in the country to be affected than of the latter, but also because the Dutch, living generally in the rural districts, come into more immediate contact with the Natives than the English-speaking town-dwellers. The Dutch have known the Natives for three times as long as the British, and think they understand them better.

The Dutch Attitude to the Native.

What now is the attitude of the Dutch White South African towards the Native, and what does he think should be the correct relationship between the two races? The fundamental principle underlying the whole attitude of the Dutch South African is the denial of the idea of racial equality. Cecil Rhodes, one of Africa's big Englishmen, once proclaimed the doctrine of "Equal Rights for all Civilised Men" and this has become a catch-word of the South African Native. To the Dutchman, especially of the Northern Provinces of the South African Union, the word "Gelykstelling" — equality — is like a red rag to a bull.

The Dutch South African does not consciously want to oppress the Native, nor does he want to "keep him down" or exploit him. He says he means well by him, and wants to be just to him, but he does not want the existing social order to be changed. The existing social order is that the White man rules. He rules, if not by Divine Right, then because he feels that he is the natural ruler. He has history behind him, he has centuries of culture behind him. He is morally the superior, the aristocrat. The White man must rule. He realises that he must rule justly. If he withholds certain privileges from the Native, then it is not only out of snobbishness, or even selfishness, but because he does not consider the Native morally entitled to them. The Native is a child. He is irresponsible. He

is innocent and happy in his innocence ; why tempt him, and incidentally complicate matters, by letting him eat of the forbidden fruit, when he is happy without it — merely for the sake of a theory — of theoretical justice? That is why the Dutchman does not want the Native to exercise the franchise. That is why the Dutchman is not over-anxious to concede certain rights and privileges. That is the reason for the so-called " segregation policy " of the present (Dutch) South African Government.

The Policy of Segregation.

By segregation is meant the keeping apart of White and Black in South Africa, — as far as possible territorially, by inducing Natives to remain in, or move into, certain areas marked as " Native Reserves ", where they will have privileges which they will not elsewhere enjoy. Segregation also implies keeping the Natives confined to certain lines of industrial activity, so that there shall not be unnecessary competition between White and Black labour — a competition unfair to the White worker, because his standard of living is higher than that of the Black. Segregation includes political differentiation in the sense that it tries to eliminate the possibility of the clash between a White and a Black vote at an election. In effect it will mean that the Black man will be debarred from voting directly for members of the Legislative Assembly, which will be composed exclusively of Whites, while he will be given an opportunity of ruling himself within certain boundaries, and with certain limitations, by means of " Native Councils " of his own creation.

Socially, segregation means that there is to be no social relationship or intercourse between Black and White. The one race does not hate or despise the other. It is merely that the two races should mutually agree to remain separate, and socially apart. If this be racial pride on the part of the White, then it must be racial pride on the part of the Black as well. This then is the position. What is the feeling between White and Black, in consideration of all this? It is difficult to generalise, but if it is true that the White politician and the Black agitator do not exactly see eye to eye, it is equally true that the ordinary Dutch farmer and his Native tenant get on very well indeed together.

The Work of the Dutch Church.

The Mission work carried on by the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa amongst the Natives of South and Central Africa is the most conclusive proof of the goodwill towards the Black man that exists in the bosom of the South African Dutch. Nearly a hundred thousand pounds was raised by the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa last year for the cause of Missions to the Natives. A fully organised Native Church, with a quarter of a million adherents, has been built up by the Dutch Church, and given over to the control of the Natives of South Africa. Large Missions are conducted by the Dutch Reformed Church amongst the Natives beyond the borders of the Union of South Africa. Apart from the Native pupils in the Government-aided Native Mission schools in the Union, there are 72,000 Native pupils being taught in Mission Schools of the Dutch Church outside of the Union. Surely these figures, if they prove anything, prove that the Dutch of South Africa are not unmindful of their duty towards the Black Man. And if the Dutchman of South Africa wants to be fair not only to the Native now clamouring from the soap-box of the agitator for equal rights, but also to himself and to the generations coming after him, then he must not let his " head run away with his heart " but he must secure a fair heritage for those coming after him, while yet there is time, by directing the White and Black streams as far as possible into different channels, territorially, politically, economically, and socially — with the broad bond of Christian tolerance and sympathy to keep all together.

The Race Question : an Indian Contribution.

By Rajani Kanta Das.

Communal conflicts were frequent occurrences in primitive society. They were however tribal feuds and not racial conflicts. Invasions and conquests in ancient and medieval times were mostly caused by love of power and lust for plunder rather than by race prejudice. Even the wars between Europe and the Near East at the end of the Middle Ages were clashes of creed rather than of race, although the race question was not altogether absent in them, as is indicated by the formation of social classes and castes in some countries. At no time however in the history of the world has this question occupied so prominent a place in social relations as at the present day.

Race prejudice is the dominant feature in the national policy of a number of States. The " White Australia Policy ", the " Oriental exclusion laws " in North America, and the " Colour Bar Bill " in South Africa are only a few examples of this. Things have gone still further in the United States, where the new immigration laws show discrimination even against Southern and Eastern Europeans.

The detrimental effect of such prejudice and discrimination on the peace and harmony among nations and upon the general progress of society is only too evident. The policy of Australia in not allowing any Asiatic races to exploit the Northern part of that vast continent, which Australians themselves cannot occupy, is both unjust and uneconomic. The wholesale exclusion of Asiatics from other continents is bound to divide Asia on the one hand, and these other continents on the other, into two warring camps. The tyranny and exploitation of the so-called advanced races will sooner or later result in the rude awakening of the so-called backward races.

No one will of course seek to deny the existence of differences between the races. But whether such differences correspond to

differences in mental faculties, such as would make it impossible for some of them to achieve a high degree of civilisation, is still an open question. Eugenists and ethnologists hold divergent opinions on the subject. Neither industrial progress nor scientific achievement, in which certain nations have attained a considerable degree of success, prove any essential race superiority on their part. Nor does the power of domination over, and exploitation of the "backward" races add anything to their moral or even intellectual superiority. Some of the methods adopted by them for the maintenance of this power will be condemned even by their own ethical standards. The very fact that certain nations are forced to defend their interests on the basis of race rather than on that of merit in the open field of competition, shows the essential weakness of their position.

The causes of race prejudice are many, but the fundamental cause should be sought in human nature itself. Man's love for himself and for all those connected with himself is greater than his love for others. It is therefore natural for man to think more highly of his own than of an alien race. To this must be added that love of power and domination which is instinctive in man and which causes him to become narrow and arrogant unless he has an opportunity of developing in himself the sense of right and justice. What is true of an individual is also true of a nation. Among the more immediate causes must be mentioned the domination of materialism in modern society, the institution of capitalistic imperialism, which renders the exploitation of races easier than that of classes, the spread of the pseudo-scientific doctrine of "Nordic superiority," mutual ignorance and interested mis-representation, the movement for nationalism and the awakening of the "backward" races, resulting in a protest against foreign domination and exploitation.

Like many other social diseases, race prejudice will run its course and die its natural death. Side by side with this prejudice many moral and spiritual forces are also at work towards the establishment of peace and harmony among races and nations and the assurance of social progress. But that is no reason why conscious efforts should not be made to counteract this evil and even to eliminate it, if possible, before its disintegrating effects upon humanity make themselves felt.

The solution of the race problem depends chiefly upon the "backward" races themselves. Until they can re-organise their

society in the light of modern science and philosophy and achieve a certain degree of physical power and social cohesion, and thus become masters of the situation in their own homes, they cannot hope to improve their racial and national status among the more advanced nations The first effect of such an awakening will of course be to arouse fear and jealousy and to accentuate racial friction, by its challenge to the vested interests of the exploiting and dominating nations; this is actually happening to-day. In the long run, however, fear and jealousy are bound to give way to admiration and friendship.

Science, too, can do much by an investigation of the true facts as to racial characteristics. So much bias has entered into research work on racial questions that the real truth has been but inadequately ascertained. International organisations which bring all races and nations together on a basis of equality will also help towards the elimination of racial prejudice.

A Study in Colour from the South Pacific

By A. W. McMillan.

The Indians in Fiji.

The Fiji Islands are but seventy hours' voyage from Auckland, New Zealand, on the main highway between Canada and Australia. It is doubtful whether there is any problem of statesmanship in the South Pacific calling for more expert, tactful and wise treatment than that determining the future of the Indian population in Fiji. Behind these 65,000 exotics (who increased 50 per cent in the last recorded decade), there are the leaders of India's 318,000,000 inhabitants watching this people's interests. It will also require justice to safe-guard against all foreign exploitation the future of the 84,000 ease-loving Fijian Natives, who are subject to the pressure of a growing Indian community and a rapidly increasing number of Chinese immigrants. The changing situation will also call for adjustments which will secure for the Indians themselves a place in the Colony commensurate with their importance as indispensable producers, at the same time recognising their aspirations as progressive, intelligent and loyal members of a commonwealth.

Why did they Come ?

The Abolition of Slavery throughout the British Empire, about ninety years ago, was followed by the Indentured Labour Service. Certain Colonies requiring cheap labour for plantations, etc. soon enlisted shiploads of coolies from the villages of India. In 1879 Fiji did likewise. These hardworking, patient agriculturists were essential if the sugar and other industries were to be developed, as the happy Fijians are disinclined to bind themselves down to the weary monotony of regular hours of toil, especially when, as Booker T. Washington has aptly said, "There is a difference between working and being worked." The Indian under Indenture

was compelled to work for five years, at 5/6 per week, wherever he was placed, and if he worked for a further five years, he could claim a free passage back to India. This System of Indenture was abolished in 1920.

A Dark Past — A Brighter Future?

For various reasons public opinion in India has banned the Governments concerned from engaging in any further systematic importation of labourers. During four successive decades no more than 40 per cent of Indian women were allowed to accompany male emigrants, and the fact that even to-day there are 10,000 Indian women less than men in the Colony makes the restoration of normal family life very difficult. The past has been dark; it is for us to help to rectify its mistakes and work for a brighter future.

Disappearance of Caste.

The effects of immigration have been radical and widespread. To those acquainted with village life in India, the contrasts seen in Fiji are truly remarkable. Nothing, for instance, is more deep-rooted in Hindu India than the Caste System, which has held sway for milleniums. This in Fiji has vanished in a single generation! So common has inter-marriage become that most Colonial-born Indians are unable even to state their caste. It is the common practice for Brahmin and low caste to inter-dine. The age-long belief in the Divine right of Brahmins to hold a position of unapproachable superiority; the divisions between India's 2000 different castes; the oppression of the outcaste and untouchable — these and a host of other disabilities have all disappeared from amongst these people in Fiji.

Lack of Social Cohesion.

Caste is not such an unmitigated evil as has been thought. It certainly has many undesirable aspects and is ruthlessly strict; but as a form of social and economic order — a kind of trade unionism — it has stood the test of thousands of years. In Fiji the sudden disappearance of this foundation principle of Hindu society has

resulted more or less in social disruption. Out of the ruins, the people themselves will need to reconstruct a new order and social discipline, and in this effort they deserve our sympathetic assistance.

Loosening of the Marriage Bond.

In a general way India's womanhood is exemplary in regard to its natural modesty, marital fidelity, and devoted motherhood. The unnatural conditions of life in Fiji have resulted in the lowering of such standards, and, more than anything else, have produced laxity and an increase of crime such as is unknown in normal life in their own land. Life is safe and secure among Indians in Fiji, and it is wrong to depict them as a normally murderous race. The serious crime in Fiji is almost entirely due to sex-quarrels and domestic jealousies, and is a hideous result of immigration and the present disproportion of the sexes.

Material Prosperity.

Encouraged to remain in the Colony at the expiration of their indenture the Indians have prospered. Compared with their cousins in India, they eat better food, wear superior clothes, use gold and silver jewellery instead of glass and pewter, and their standards of living have risen year by year. Their very prosperity has produced new aspirations, which are indications that they are sharing in the general, world-wide upward movement of Labour. Many who started as " bond-slaves " at 5/6 per week, are now independent planters leasing scores or even hundreds of acres. Their industry and enterprise have become a national asset, for to-day the Colonial Sugar Refining Co. pays hundreds of thousands of pounds for sugar-cane grown by free settlers on the land. The dumb coolie has now become an important colonist. There is a labour shortage in Fiji because the Indian prefers his independence, and because there is no abject poverty or unemployment.

Freedom from Conservatism.

Life in a new land has broadened the outlook of these sons and daughters of India. The women are free from pardah-seclusion ; the men have learned to use modern ploughs, implements, separa-

tors, etc. Free from an age-long conservatism — like other races — the young men are naturally thinking for themselves and are progressive in spirit. It is the onward march of *man* — but in this case the transition has been perilously sudden and with very few influences to guide the thoughts and outlook of the New Youth. Thirty thousand Indians have been born and brought up in Fiji, the majority of whom have no sympathy with the conservatism common in their native land.

Materialism v. Religious Instincts.

The Indian is normally one of the most religiously inclined men in the world. The new generation in Fiji, far removed from its famous Hindu temples and sacred places of pilgrimage, is fast becoming a devotee at the shrine of Mammon. For him to lose his desire to worship and become a victim of modern materialism will be a great and inestimable loss. In some cases the example of European godlessness and whisky-drinking have caused him to become an addict to intoxicating drink — a beverage which his brethren in India would rather die than touch.

Demand for Education.

The progressive Indian farmer in Fiji has for years been asking the Government to provide proper educational facilities for his boys and girls. Indian labourers were brought to Fiji to be " hewers of wood and drawers of water ", and therefore there have been, and still are to be found, influences in the Colony which are not favourably disposed towards making provision for the education of these 24,000 bright boys and girls. Neglect has been interpreted by the people as an intention to keep them permanently in a position of servility. The cultivation of good character and the production of skilful agriculturists and enlightened citizens is very desirable in the Colony.

Often Misunderstood.

In defence of these people it is necessary to state that public opinion in New Zealand and Australia is sometimes misled by wri-

ters to the Press giving undue emphasis to the worst side of Indian life, to the exclusion of their many splendid traits of character. Moreover, tourists passing through Suva are apt to form a hasty and erroneous opinion from what they see and hear during their brief stay. Gruesome details sometimes appear in the Australian Press if a sex-murder occurs in Fiji ; but how many were told of the service rendered by over thirty Indian young men who, at the time of the typhoid epidemic in Suva in May 1925, worked as volunteer nurses night after night for several weeks ?

Need Expert Handling.

Nor is the general public made aware of the inborn politeness, hospitality, patience, linguistic ability, mechanical skill and intelligence of these people. True, their temperament includes a strong critical faculty, a tendency to suspect motives, a litigious nature that militates against united action, and a sensitiveness or pride of race that resents the erection of social or other barriers ; but the very fact that the Indian has a complex nature, and that a large proportion of those in Fiji have come from the low castes, makes it all the more necessary that they should receive expert handling by the Government and sympathetic understanding by all who have their welfare at heart.

Great and Grave Problems.

It is increasingly clear that the Colony of Fiji contains in concentrated form some of the greatest and gravest problems confronting India and the World — problems which call for constructive effort. The impact of " Western Civilisation " upon other races, the powerful influence of the Cinema, the growth of the Drink traffic, and the modern materialistic worship of Mammon, are all very noticeable. The lack of parental control, the breaking down of old social and religious restraints, the greater freedom of young people of both sexes, an increased spending capacity — these affect the youthful Indian, Fijian and European in our Islands as surely as the young people in greater lands.

" The One Thing Needful. "

The "Clash of Colour" is very pronounced. Undoubtedly, the Indian was given a bad start under the indentured labour system, and is still at a disadvantage through the lack of helpful educational facilities; but the new generation, though immature, is steadily improving. Unfortunately, there is a deep-rooted antipathy against "Colour" amongst some of the "Whites". This, with the natural sensitiveness of the Indian, makes Christian work difficult. Fiji's greatest need is inter-racial harmony and co-operation. If Christian reasonableness and sympathy can be brought to influence racial relationships, then the solving of many of the Colony's problems will be considerably eased.

The Religious Issue in India

By William Paton.

Most truisms are true ; and it is a truism that India is a " religious " country. Perhaps this is as often said in an untrue as in a true sense. In no country in the world is it the case that the natural man finds it easy to be religious, except in the sense in which religion has no particular connection with morals. But it is true that India has had a uniquely long, determined and various concern with the problems of religious truth. Her classics are in the main books about religion. It is with religion, rather than with science or history, that her ablest minds have wrestled. She honours, as probably no country on earth does honour, the man who gives up everything for the joy of the religious quest ; and there is perhaps no other land where a figure like that of Mahatma Gandhi could either have arisen or been so honoured even by those who differ *toto caelo* from many of his political or economic views.

What does India make of Christianity ?

It is therefore of importance to know what India makes of Christianity. Not that anyone can tell, for India is not a phrase or a name, but three hundred and twenty millions of people, who include among themselves almost every variety of religious belief known among men. The present paper will do no more than indicate in the briefest way one aspect of the meeting which is now effected between India and the religion of Jesus Christ.

Much has been said of the willingness of educated India to-day to listen to the teaching and to admire the character of Jesus Christ. It is not exaggerated, though some of the inferences drawn from it are. Literature, travel, the teaching of Christian colleges and high schools, the example of Mr.Gandhi in the study of the Bible — these and many other influences have created an India where the educated

man or woman knows who Jesus is, has some idea of His teaching, and needs, at least in a vast number of cases no further persuasion to admit His eminence. Naturally, the evidence one gets on this point varies with the temperament of the witness. The more sanguine differ from the more cautious ; the sympathetic from the critical. I read the other day a statement that it would be " an offensive waste of time " or some such phrase, to try to present the supremacy of Jesus to Indian students. This is altogether exaggerated ; but it is intelligible in view of some of the things one continually sees. When the Indian National Congress met at Christmas in the year when Mr. Gandhi was imprisoned, the President, Mr. Chittaranjan Das, read in the course of his presidential speech a large part of the account of the trial of Jesus Christ in St. Matthew's Gospel. Whatever we read into that action, at least it could not mean less than that the reader knew that a large proportion of his audience would understand quite well what he was talking about. Evidence is abundant and varied. There is the famous cry of Keshub Chunder Sen, the founder of the New Dispensation section of the Brahmo Somaj — " none but Jesus, none but Jesus is worthy of that fair jewel (he was speaking of India) and Jesus shall have it. " Dr. Stanley Jones in a recent and remarkable book — *The Christ of the Indian Road* — tells of a Hindu remarking to him that " it is our Christian duty to love our Mohammedan brothers ". I remember once a Mohammedan professor, in speaking to me of a mutual friend, an Englishman living in London who had befriended him there, saying of him " He was a Christ to me ". Mr. Gandhi has again and again directed the attention of his followers to the example and teaching of Christ, and by his own adoption of the gospel of non-violence has drawn particular attention to the most difficult part of the Christian ethic. One may deprecate the way in which he has been compared by some of his admirers to Christ, and no one deprecates it more than he does himself. But it is significant that one never hears him compared to Krishna, or to Muhammed, or, to my knowledge, to the Buddha. Those who admire him most have gone to Christian categories to express their admiration. One gets much light on such a matter from the half-conscious thought or casual phrases. It is common to hear an Indian Christian, or a missionary, or the Christian Church, or the Christian nations of the West, told by Hindu newspapers or writers or speakers that they ought to be " truly

Christian ", but one does not recollect ever seeing the late Sultan of Turkey urged to be more truly Mohammedan.

One need hardly labour the point that for all this recognition of Jesus Christ one is profoundly thankful, and that it is so far as it goes entirely to the good. It is sometimes said that this measure of recognition is dangerous, as a sort of half-way house, but we may leave our Lord to take care of that.

I do, however, wish to draw attention to the way in which at the present time an attitude towards Christ which is, so it seems to me, definitely at variance with the Christian view, is taking shape in India. Some of those who have been most outspoken in their admiration of Jesus have also been most vigorous in their repudiation in Him of anything supreme, unique or final. They have made it clear that they place Him as high as they place any other ; they are making it equally plain that they place Him no higher. The theological claims made by the Christian Church, historically, in dealing with the Person of Christ are of course rejected, but it appears clear that they are rejected not merely as " Western ", but on fundamental grounds. It follows rightly from this attitude that an appeal is made to Christians to give up " proselytism ". I have not space to go thoroughly into this point. It is complicated, for there are aspects of what is called " proselytism " to which many Christians would object, and do object. If the Christian movement is called in question on account of unfair pressure, or the use of veiled coercion, or reliance on monetary prestige, or the like, no one is going to defend these things if the case is proved that they are employed. Probably there never was a time when there was a more widespread sensitiveness on the part of Indian Christians and missionaries alike in regard to the " ethics of conversion ".

Pantheism versus Christianity.

Plainly, however, it is not on these grounds mainly that the call to give up conversion rests. It proceeds logically from the attitude, towards not only Jesus Christ but all reality in religion, which has been roughly sketched above. For India, more than any country in the world to-day, presents us with an alternative religion to that of Jesus Christ. Scientific agnosticism, dogmatic materia-

lism and other intellectual modes are conceivable views of life, but they are not religion. It is in India that men of religion, friendly to the ethic of Christianity and deeply imbued with admiration for Jesus, present another religious view. It is what is commonly called Pantheism, and it seems to me to be genuinely different from the view of God and the world which is contained in the Christian religion. To this view no " revelation " of the nature of God can be ultimate ; for ultimate reality is not personal at all. Either reality lies beyond all appearance, so that nothing that is in our world of moral effort is real ; or else all that exists is Divine, so that moral distinctions become in the last resort unmeaning. A figure such as that of Jesus is Divine, it is a peak, as it were, in the manifestations of the Divine ; but there are other peaks, and on none of them does ultimate reality lie.

As against this, it seems to me that any Christianity, however reduced, must contend that in Jesus a man finds the reality of God, and that in moral surrender to Him lies the key to the meaning of life and all its problems. One would not claim, naturally, that any existing Christian theology is final; but on some such statement of the Christian attitude to Christ I cannot but believe that Christians do in practice depend.

I might suggest the difference in another way. In the Hindu tradition history is not taken as final, and rightly, for it cannot be. History and the historical are treated as in the last resort irrelevant and unmeaning. In the Christian view also history is not final, the " Jesus of History " is not all the Christ of the New Testament. But history is the temporal manifestation of the divine ; and this truth, while it is profoundly philosophical, is also verifiable in the practice of the humblest. To be assured of Divine forgiveness as one faces the death of Jesus of Nazareth on a Roman cross outside Jerusalem — one has there the certainty of eternity conveyed through the event of time.

Let it be repeated that this paper is written with no sort of intention to disparage or minimise the importance of the widespread recognition of the moral beauty of Christ which is to-day found in India. Its object is rather to define the point already reached, and to show the attitude towards ultimate reality which is derived from the philosophic tradition of India and which will quite certainly be applied to Christianity. That the reality of Jesus is insusceptible of such

treatment I am utterly sure ; either men must go further or they must go back and deny Him.

It is Character that Counts.

In fine, it may be added that the only kind of doctrine about Jesus which has any chance of acceptance in India is that which is backed by the most absolute personal devotion. There is less than no use in presenting Jesus as the Very Son of God, the Incarnation of the Eternal Word, and then so living and behaving that it becomes manifest that Jesus is only one of the lights that light the life, only a part of the ideal which the soul cherishes. An absolute theology, backed by a calculating half-hearted Christian practice, can only seem to the thoughtful Indian religious mind as a mere piece of theological sectarianism, remote from truth. For if Jesus is, in the full and majestic sense, the Truth, He is also and not less the Way and the Life.

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